well words for

Approved For Release 2002/10/30 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000900030019-2

Jan 6

Honorable Barry Goldwater United States Senate Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator Goldwater:

I read in the Congressional Record the statements which you delivered on the floor of the Senate on 26 May and again on 1 June regarding the U-2 incident and the summit collapse.

Your kind remarks regarding this Agency's work have been greatly appreciated by all of us.

Since rely,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

OGC/LC/GC:jmd 1 Jun 60

Rewritten: DCI/AWD:blp 6 Jun 60

Distribution:

Original & 1- Addressee

1 - DCI

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Approved For Re(2) 2002/10/30 : CIA-RDP80B01676R000900030019-2

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the cost is algher than our present level public spending. I frankly believe that public spending in frankly believe that the cost is algorithm. one and beauty in our civic lives, and secarry and well-being in the world at large are more important than the "things" which might otherwise have priority.

But still more important is America's need to face squarely the facts about its situation. If freedom is really the organizing principle of our society, then we cannot forget that it is not illusion, propaganda and sedatives, but truth, and truth alone, that makes us

Under the influence of the politics of wedation and the techniques of salesmanship, I believe that in recent years self-deceit has sicckened our grip on reality. We have tended to shirk the difficult truth and accept the easy half-truth. Parhaps it is always that way. As the old humorist losh Billings used to say:

"As scarce as truth is, the supply has always been in excess of the deniand.

KNTAILS HAND CHOICES

But we know from our own lives that reality entails hard choices and disappointments: that it measures real achievement not in terms of luck but in terms of difficulties overcome. I don't believe our national life can follow any other pattern. No preordained destiny decrees that Amer-

ica shall have all the breaks and soft options. Neither greatness nor even freedom lies that way. So we must surely return to the reality principle, to the bracing, invigorating, upprinciple, to the tracing, invigorating, upland climate of truth itself. I think we are ready now to move forward into the rigors and giories of the new decade with open eyes, eager step and firm purposes worthy of our great past.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR OF THIS ARTECLE

Adial Ewing Stevenson, Democrat, \$14 twice a candidate for the Presidency, sp-posing Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican.

Mr. Stevenson was born in Los Angeles in 1900. He received his bacheloria degree

in 1900. He received his bachelor's degree from Princeton in 1922 and his law degree from Northwestern University in 1926.

After practicing law in Chicago, he was sasistant to the Becretary of the Ravy from 1941 to 1944, assistant in the Secretary of State in 1945, and U.S. delegate to the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 and 1947. He served as Covernor of Hilmois from 1949 to 1953. 1949 to 1953.

Mr. Stevenson is now practicing law in Chicago. He is trustee or director of various educational and philanthropic organizations. He is the author of "Call to Greatness," published in 1954, and "What I Think," 1956.

CONSCIENCE DEMANDS MEDICAL CARE FOR OUR SENIOR CITIZENS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I am sure that we do not think of ourselves as a Nation without a heart, or a Congress without a conscience. Still, in the minds of millions of older Americans, such as the woman who wrote a letter, which I now submit, this is what we have become. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that her letter be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Rrcoan as follows:

DEAR SENATOR PROXECTE: I am writing to DEAR SENTEN PROXIMER: I am writing to see if something can be done for the older citizens who must rely on social security and old-age penalons for a living. I am sey grateful, to a good President, Franklin Roberts, who had heart snough to think it that the cost of Seing has seen as see our of Seing has seen as seen seen the necessary things to make their lives com-fortable. They do not have the medical care they need because hospital and doctors' fees are so high, not to mention drugs.

I think it is wrong for a country like ours to forget their old people who have helped make America the great country that it is and I think they should have the comforts of life before we send money for other country's

ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this coming Saturday marks the independence day of Armenia. This is an anni-Versary of great patriotic significance to Armenian people throughout the world, but it unfortunately cannot be celebrated in the Armenian homeland as it will be observed by Armenian-Americans and Armenian peoples elsewhere in the world. The Armenian Republic was established and recognized by the United States in 1920. But it maintained itself as a sovereign nation for only a few months, before the armed might of Soviet Russia overwhelmed the nation and overthrew the independent Armenian Government. In the same year of 1926, the Soviet Union proclaimed the Soviet Republic of Armenia, and the homeland of the Armenians remains within the Soviet Union today. In February of 1921, Armenian patriots fought a valuant and temporarily successful rebellion against the Soviets, but in a matter of menths, reinferced Russian troops again took over the nation.

In our own country, the Americans who comprise the Armenian community have a deep understanding and appreciation of the heritage of freedom and democracy which perhaps too many Americans sometimes take for granted. They or their descendants have fied their homeland to escape brutal hivaders or typennous dictators. Their contribu-tion to our American political and steel tradition and to our general culture has been great. Their opposition to commu-nism has been monumental and soundly roofed. Armenian-Americans are anxious now to see the reestablishment of an independent, democratic Armenia. It is appropriate that Americans therefore join with their fellow citizens of Armenian descent in recognising the alguing cance of this independence date, and in supporting their hopes for the reestablishment of a free, democratic Armenia

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded. The PRESIDING OFFICER CM. PROXMIRE in the cheir). Without objection, it is so ordered.

SQUECES OF KATIONAL PRIOR Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. President, the effort at the numerit has come and to

as some hoped at world men. This as we look back on the Paris great events surrounding # I beneve that the American people can be apputed two things that emerged

First, we have a great searce of pride in our President. In the face of a bullying and scurrilous attack by the leader of the forces who will, as long as they exist, make any summit an unpossibility. President Eisenhower maintained a caim dignity and a restraint which is verker man could not have achieved. He proved again that there are in her heart a passion and a desire for passe that we have not seen equaled in our lifetime. It was this simple badge of lamesty and decency that accentuated the rieness of Khrushchev's attack, and made clear to the world that the real obstacle to peace is the Soviet Communists—not the Soviet people, but their leaders.

Our second source of price is the schievement of the C.A in the patance of the U-2. Frankly, my conficence in this Agency was never too high; but this achievement has caused my opinion toward it to soar tremendously. Those whose typewriters have been punching through a dark ribbon of gloors relative to our lack of intelligence of our enemy must now be amazed at what actually has been going on in this field, as I feel most Americans must be. Our amazement is coupled with pride as we wather the secure feeling that we have been obtaining knowledge of the enemy at a rate and of a quality that surpasses our greatest hopes. To the CIA and to the Lockheed Aircraft Co., to the men who flew the U-2, and to Plair ground craws must go the undying pratitude and respect of the American people. I detect more, by far, of a feeling such as this, than the feeling expressed by others others with gould apologize to the bully; who suggest it was tile fault of the United States that the summit fulled; who considue to be abraid of the Soviet and would yield West Berlin to the tyare in the complete minority in our land, and that the majority of Americans feel more secure in the knowledge gained by this program; knowledge that makes lies out of much that the Communists and their sympathizers in our land would have us believe; knowledge, for example, that the Soviet cannot as they have hoasted, shoot down any aircraft flying over their heartland, repardless of speeds of altitude; knowledge that our de erent force of more than 2,000 bombers, including 1,400 B-47's and 550 E-52's, could fly against their obviously limited air defenses with success; knowledge that, by the same token, our entrierbased aircraft could carry out attacks 1,000 miles into the Soviet Union; knowledge that some 1,000 fighter bombers located around the periphery of the Soviet borders could drop atomic or-TNT bombs from 800 to 1,000 miles within first country. This is intelligence developed from the fights of the U-2 and from other sources, and it is sometime we should be proved of, said not extraped

the summent has come and a summer to the summer throught it a use to insert and the summer throught it would be summer to the su I sin disturbed that is me of the col-

In investigation Approved FomRelease 2002/16/30pt GIA-RDR80B01676R00290003001972. There is no ising to me what the CIA has done was some tion-and-answer period be printed in the new institutions, new was relations of inclose. thing that had to be done, and it is as integral a part of national defense as the weapon in the hands of a soldier. One of the first tenets of war is to know what your enemy has and what he might do with it. This is what the CIA and the military were trying to do, and what they should always be trying to do. To me this is the duty of the intelligence gathering agencies, and not the business of some committee of Congress. To be sure, it would be a closed-door investigation, but all of us here know that there are hundreds of ways for what goes on behind closed doors to become the property of the press, the radio, the TV, our people, and, I might add, the Soviets. I am hopeful that those who, in the heat of developments, called for this inquiry will, in the interest of the country, see that it does not proceed. Gathering intelligence of what the other fellow is doing is practiced by business, by labor organizations; yes, even by some husbands and some wives. It is not new. It is not novel. It must go on at the national level, and we, as a branch of our Government, should not make more difficult a

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task which is always a hard one. The President's suggestion, made again last evening on TV, that the United States institute a system of worldwide surveillance so that every country could know what every other country is up to militarily, coincides with a similar one I made on this floor last week. I urge that it be done with any equipment we have, and I hope we will utilize not only surveillance missiles but the B-70, with its 80,000-foot-plus, 2,100mile-an-hour capability.

Today the errors committed are far outweighed by the successes achieved. Instead of carping at our mistakes, we should forget them and devote our efforts to stimulating a national pride in the two successis we have our President's actions in face of the enemy and our tremendously expanded knowledge of the enemy's abilities achieved through the U-2 the U-2

GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER DELIV-ERS CHALLENGING ADDRESS ON AMERICA'S THIRD CENTURY

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, at a meeting of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia on April 22 Gdv. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, ficlivered the first of a series of four addresses on major issues confronting the people of the United States. The title of this address was "The Third Century," its reference being to the fact that the third century of our history as a/nation is opening before us.

Governor Rockefeller/reviewed the historical background in which we enter this new century, and he stressed the tremendous area of diallenge that lies before us on this threshold of a new era. before us on this threshold of a new era. In view of the stirring nature of this address, of its significance in terms of our spiritual growth as a nation, and in terms of our position of hadership responsibility in the world of freezen. I said unbulmont trusted that the address in the state of the stat tion-and-answer period be printed in the RECORD

There being no objection, the address and questions and answers were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE THIRD CENTURY—A CONCEPT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

(Br Gov Nelson A. Rockefeller, of New York) In this city so profoundly linked in fact and in memory with the dirth of America, I appeal to history to remind us plainly, as a people, where we stand, for what we stand, where we may fall, where we dare not fall,

but must prevail.

I shall state the matter of the moment as gravely as I age it.

It rises from the very history and heritage and character of the American people, ; As a people, we have cherished and re-spected basic splittual and religious beliefs and values proclaiming the supreme worth of the individual:

Our beliefs about individual man have been rooted in the profound and priceless truths of Judalam and Christianity.

truits of Judaism and Christianity.

These truths define man as the supreme creature of God. They therefore, proclaim the individual the supremely valuable being on earth, and the free fulfillment of his destiny the supreme purpose of life itself.

No state can decree this fulfillment: God alone could do that. No state can define this destiny: man alone can do that.

Brother to all men and the servant of none, the free individual is gifted with a life whose laws and standards and purposes stand

laws and standards and purposes stand above, not beneath, the state.

And the true role of the state, therefore, is to respect and to serve the matchless dignity Durboses stand

of the individual

Our forefathers in the middle of the 18th century realized that their hopes and aspira-tions for the fulfillment of man could not be achieved in the political world in which they

achieved in the political world in which they found themselves.

Hance they moved to the historic schievement of creating in His Thrin of the American Nation a political structure within which this deep bestef in the worth of the individual, and these spiritual values, could ficurish and fine spiritual values, could ficurish and fine spiritual values, could ficurish and fine spiritual values, and heliefs was themselves not national fifty thirdness.

These values and heliefs was themselves not national fifty thirdness.

These values and heliefs was themselves the principles have from the principle have from the principle have from the security decaded, accordingly, through the security decaded, we as a people have given testimony by our deeds to the values we charish and to our concern for humanity at large.

concern for humanity at large.
We have done this in many and changing ways: in things religious through mis slonaries to distant lands; in things social social. atomaries to distant lands; in things social, through charities and foundations; in things economic, through aid and comfort to the economic through aid and comfort to the needy and afficated; in things military, through lives given in defense of freedom.

This has been the history and this has been

the nature of our life as a people.

Two centuries after the creative work of our Founding Pathers, the formidable fact is now emerging that these principles of indi-vidual freedom and individual worth can live and achieve universal application only if we join with other peoples to create larger political structures binding many nations in common pur lose.

If we fall to do this in this mid-20th cen tury, we will risk not merely national p in a conventional sense; we will risk the death of these values that insuite the stringgle for human dignity and freedom throughout the world.

The task, then is brilly momentum. gle for human con out the word.

The tank, then, is brilly men hothing less than string to an

new institutions, new associations of actions, that can give all the world the same tangible hope for the realization of freedo, to tour forefathers gave to a sing e native

In the 18th century, we succeeded as a people because we had a clear sense o purpose and dedication. In the 20th century we have not yet succeeded as a people because we have lacked that single less of purpose and dedication—and instead we have improvised.

In the 18th century, we, the American people, had an idea of man that inspired governed our action and conduct as a ped-ple. In the 20th century, we have too rarely, too casually, related our actions to that with the result that our national conduct has been inspired less by our own be-

liefs than by the threats of others.

In the lifth century, we knew that our idea of man to be realised had to be translated into concrete and specific political forms and institutions. In the 20th century tury, we have tried largely to substitute military acts on economic act! for the vicas and lacking political acts of coation. The full gravity of our position in the

world today can be summarized in simple questions.

questions.

If it has become possible for Communists to twist and distort our very ideas of demonstrate and freedom and justice—and to exploit these words as it they were their own—is this not plain priof that seen how we ourselves have failed to give these ideas vital and convincing expression?

If the Communists seem forever ingenti-

If the Communists seem forever ingent-ous and inventive in promoting chaos, is not their apparent skill at least partly, perhaps largely, a reflection of dur failure to promote CECIOT?

If the Communists have success in waging political and psychological war, is not their success greatly due to our failure to create larger political structures in which freedom ten flourish?

The communism has an appeal to newly smerging peoples as a way of life bordering on a religion, is it not because we have falled to give content to our concepts of brotherly love and human dignly in our preoccupation with material success?

The conclusion seems to me as class as its content.

is crucial.

is crucial.

We parmot strocksfully serve the cause of the desired in the both century with herbest passes to the both desired on less fervent with purpose less clear than in the 18th seatury.

What is needed to serve the dignity and presion or the individual in many netting can hardly be less than what was needed in one nation.

In the revolutionary times through which we pass, we shall be the creators of discussional stance—or we shall be its victims. And the issue, will turn not upon how well we can: counter the thrusts and inventions of others but how well we can emean and convey our own conviction.

To carry such conviction on the world

scene demands of us the same two creative achievements of which the American people proved themselves capable two centuries ago.

We must bind our acts as a people in ally to our idea of man, the free individual

And, working with other peoples and na-And, working with other peoples and nations, we must branslate this idea into political forms and institutions, so that the idea becomes not only right but also relevant for the lives of free peoples everywhere.

We face in the world a kind of political wilderness in which the hopes for trend on of all peoples may be lost.

The scene is more challenging and periods than the wilderness the invarient people continues ago.

We can do no less that match then and will respon to the pippeers ones again - polytonia to of peace. A - \$40.00 to - 10.0

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE Approved For Release 2002/10/30: CIA-RDP80B01676R000900030019-2

Figure Union. Here are Khrushchev's

We * * * resolved faiter the Soviet discure of the U-2 flights; to do nothing mat would prevent the United States President from getting out of this embarrassing pre-er ament. We even declared that the United States President hardly knew or approved of such actions and matterdently the hotheads from the Pentagon and Allen Dulles, this professional spy, they are to blame. But Esenhower did not take advantage of the opportunity granted him. He declared that the spy flights had been approved by him end midd with his knowledge. That is when it became obvious that the purpose of the aggressive actions by the United States

Now it does not follow that because the Lippmann line corresponds with the official propagands line of the Soviet Union, it is the wrong line. All of the presumptions, however, run strongly in that direction. Especially is this so when as we shall see, the line is incompatible with some of the major facts of

patible with some of the major facts of the case.

The first fact on which the Lippmann sheory runs aground is that it was not the United States, but the Soviet Union that made an international incident out of the U-2 episode. The subsequent breakdown of the Paris falks will never be understood unless this initial event is kept clearly in mind that Khrushchev deliberately chose in a fiamboyant speech before the Supreme Soviet on May 5 to publicize the American spy flights and the fact that one of our planes had been soot down. Now let us be sure that we understand the magnitude of this decision to the appreciate A consecutive invariant of the which the property of the prope

and the fit of the same of the and services the period of the control of the contr and for years ame to melligence increase and some contest is will income to make the first as well as over this as well is had petitier the rockets nor the aircraft to prevent this activity. During these 4 years, nowever, Khrushchev did not make a public issue of the flights—for the obvious reason that to do so for the obvious reason that to do so would be to expose and acknowledge the astonishing weakness of the Soviet air

Only A to the strength decided to the to the him to eat the make the statement by the him to eat the make the statement by the him to eat the make the statement by the him to eat the statement by the stateme

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It was "impossible." Lfr. Lippmann wrote, "for the Soviet Government to play.down this particular incident." How absurd. Having created the incident, Khrushchev quite obviously had no desire to "play it down" until he had achieved the purpose for which he had originally played it up. Khrushchev, above all, is not a frivolous We may be sure he did not create man an international crisis that involved great damage to his country's prestige and the possible loss of his own power, only to let it die—as Lippmann suggests he would have—by accepting President Eisenhower's disclaimer of responsibility and regrets. Khrushchey had other fish to fry, as his conduct in Paris was soon to make clear.

The second fact that makes trouble for Lippmann's theory is that Khrushchev refused to go ahead with the summiteven after President Eisenhower an nounced the U-2-flights would be dis continued and would not be resumed Before the Paris meeting Lippmann had Before the raris meeting tappingum that written that his only criticism was that the President had made spying distanced policy. The further rectal mendation—that the President should have applying did not find the way. into the Lippmann doctrine until after Khrushchev had demanded an apology in Paris. It was the avowal that had made it "impossible" for Khrushcher to play down the incident. Well, the dent disayowed the policy: I cannot imagine a plainer disavowal than a promise to discontinue a past policy. And still Khrushchev blew up the sim mit. My personal judgment is that was unwise to have disavowed the politication of the disavowed the politication of the disavowed the politication of the disavowed that the disavowed the same of the disavowed the same of the disavowed the same fraction of the disavowed the disavow

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to prevent these flights. great sorrow that the Soviet Coveragent finds itself unable to accept the U.S statement. How is it possible for a self-respecting power to do so? If the President is not master of his own house what against have we that these fights will stop " Farely it is intolerable that these international bandite should remain at large. The Soviet Government cannot be satisfied with anysning less than public exposure, this and punishment of those who perpetrated these ontrageous crimes. We know in the litterastic peace the U.S. Praident will take attached besent his constitutional authorise, and so forth.

Would not Khrushcher have replied inthis rein had Eisenhower followed Lopp-mann's advice? The logic of he sit-uation demanded it. Having get becately created the incident ichrushchev was icule and scorn. Thank goodness our President and his advisors had the good sense to stand where they did in head of allowing the situation to detectate further.

I repeat: Once it was that Rhimichchev was determined to coloit the plane incident as far as a suld, and once it was clear that he as in possession of physical proof that the spy fight took place, nething dould have een more foolhand than for the per lent was to have tried to deny il. or to have pre-tended he did not know what was poing-on, or to have prologistic for it.

This brings us to a point with a had

disturbed many people many re-lect the appealement aspect the Lippmann theck. Would it we have Could we not by the constant was avoided compromising be constant was a constant with the constant was a constant which was a constant which was a constant was

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s eaches comment Approved For Release 2002/10/30 ho Cla-RDP80B01676R000900030019-2 made in Congress; he is tried by the never afford to admit he is a say. The rether than mode in congress; courts, and he may be convicted. But does the President of the United States. m such an instance, go before Congress and wave documents in the air purportthe to prove Abel's guilt, and demand before the world that Khrushchev explain whether he was personally involved. in sending Abel here? Such a performance would, indeed, break the conven-For chiefs of state do not publicly address one another about spy operations-not unless one of them deliberately intends to kick over the traces. But this is precisely what Khrushchev did. It was he who broke the conventions by insisting that the American Government make a public accounting for a spy operation, the proof of which

was already in Soviet hands.
Mr. LONG of Louisians. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GOLDWATER. I am happy to vield

Mr. LONG of Louislana. Does the Senator have any doubt in his mind that it is a violation of international law to overfly another country's territory and to systematically photograph for intelligence purposes?

Mr. GOLDWATER. I have no ques-tion in the world as to that fact. In fact, I have not expressed myself on that

Mr. LONG of Louisians I secure it is the Senator's answer that he would agree it is a violation of international

Mr. LONG of Londston. The point am setting at follows in a second question. Does the Senator know of any instance in history that stands for the stands of the second power has connected the admired a sense in a second power in the second part of the in or over another country a lappace in or over another country a lappace in or over another country a lappace in the second part of the second

histogy where alreast have been puting a similar instance has curred before. Anticipating the ator's next question I believe that next such an incident occurred, and had the situation been as I have been de ing it, we would probably have found the

same type of incidents occurring. Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Does the Senator believe that any agent for espi-onage purposes can be successful if he proceeds to admit things and tell the truth when he is asked any particular given question under all circumstances? Mr. COLDWATER I would my we would not expect them to have any surwould not expect them to have any suc-cest. It another fellow knows steneous is spyling on him he is golfin to take after 0, see that the next does not spy, the way it is reported he is spyling it is another than the second of the second at the second of the second o never afford to admit he is a spy. The moment he does so, if he is in another country's territory, he will be apprehended, and his usefulness will be ended. Mr. GOLDWATER. Yes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Regrettably, spying is against international law, and spying also is an activity which requires that the agent must lie, certainly so long as he is operating where he can be

apprehended in some foreign country.

Most major powers do conduct such procedures, but ad Tar as I know, when agents are caught they never admit and never confess what they have been doing. At times an agent might be tog-tured into confessing but any config-alon as a result of torturing; according to our system of law, is not a valid such fession. The Senator knows that 40 he not?

Mr. GOLDWATER. I think the re cent incdent was a little bit different from the usual Mata Hari type of special who might be picked up in a saleon or a hotel as a result of suspicion. In my State we say that when some

thing has feathers like a duck, files like duck and makes a noise like a duck this a duck. If a U-2 plane came down because of cogine trouble and flanded on Residen soil, any aerodynamic expert who looked at it would pretty well know the purpose for which it was built. If the paragraph were intact and we must assume they agree it is a violation of international were intact—and we must assume they agree it is a violation of international were—I would assume the Russians, nation's territory.

Mr. GOLDWATER, I must assume not a plane engaged in pleasure from written down. That is not the notion of the product to written down. That is not the notion of the received of the plane of the product to which I am addressing mysel.

Mr. LONG of Londsians—The point to the received of hand write am setting at follows in a special gues.

Mr. LONG of Londsians—The point to the received of hand write am setting at follows in a special gues.

Mr. LONG of Londsians—The point to the received of hand write the received of hand write the received of hand with the setting at the Section of the setting at the section. The power has connected and admitted the way to be presented to the power has connected and admitted the way to be presented to the power has connected and admitted the way to be presented to the power has connected and admitted the way to be presented to the power has connected and admitted the power has connected the power has connected the power has connected to the power has been power has connected to the power has been pow

District Appendix of the most scowns was surreign as an author to me menny troops profits ferritors to me a confession has ever confessed or the first distance. In confe a confession has ever confessed or attained it has cheased in authorage activities. Ferhaps altreacher thought his case was so strong that we pound not set out from inner, but the interession I have seized is that we would have been a lot better off if we had oun-timed to insist this was a flight not suithorized by anyone not even by the man's mameritate superior, and if we had wanted to investigate appries activities wanted to investigate appries activities we have translated of some syenis at that sort on their bart we want to prothat sort on their part we want to no sent, to be investment alor. Morette could both to to trial together.

rather than pride in what has been accomplished. As I have said, this is a most injustial case of espionage being found out. Usually the spy disposes of himself. For some reason, that was not done in this instance, and the aircraft. was not destroyed.

We know for certainty that the radar espabilities of Russia are such that for 4 years the Russians must have been tracking these planes across the skies. iniagine the Russian air forces shell defenses were about ready to teasyou what hair they had, when they resile they did not have defensive capabilities

They must have known from observe Hop that it was not a B 52 or a B 47 th split almost that we have capable of spring a scient alignly exceeding. The Russians knew it was not mither of those two aircraft because those planes do not have the necessary. speed. I believe they knew all along what we were up to.

I have hever believed in the efficacy spraint conferences, but the insident care as an unfertunate time for those, the believe in them. The U-2 plane camp down. The Russians knew pro-cisely what our country was doing was admitted it. There is a question as to what the senator from Louisians would have drive had he been in the piace of the President, but, as I have recited, thus is the first time in history that I result in which the Chief of State considered **ii** distantiye A PROPERTY IN de l'euro

Livida de cente c Andrews and the control of the contr Then the executive to the was applied I suthorized it," is seens meitige he leaves us in an position in be self-righteous when we plead guilty ME GOLDWATER I am not an temping to be self-righteous. I have had except experience in the military to day-to-day peaceful military operations: stimus at I'm is knowledged the strong with the strong warmen and the strong warmen at the strong warmen at serious stron Oupabilities as are have, if not bever and thereby ap a fort our till

Definition was seek

to produce an aAppanoved compike lease 2002/40/30 MOIA-RDP80B04676R000900030079-2 Hilland Constitute. (By David awrence defeat. It was Khrushchev's last-min-

As one who knows a little about acrodynamics, I say that if anybody had told me the U-2 airplane was doing what we now know it accomplished, I would liave said. "I doubt it." I do not think it is possible." Now we know it is pos-្ធ ភរិ៦le.

I am addressing my remarks today to those who wish to make out of this incident either a political issue—and I am sure the Senator is not one of those—or an issue that can bring weakness to the American people instead of the pride that should be in their hearts. I speak not decessarily of the pride of spying, because all of us didlike the word. But the fact that we have been able to keep up with the military capabilities of the Soviet and keep ahead of them militarily is a great source of reassurance to the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. LONG of Louisiena. So far as I am concerned, I regret we do not have more information with respect to what is going on behind the Iron Curtain. I mincident either a political issue-

am concerned, I regret we do not have more information with respect to what is going on behind the from Curtain. I wish we had more. But I feel that when the decision was made in advance that if and when one of the U-2 planes came down over sliemy territory it, would not be admitted to be a spy mission, having made that decision it would have been better to have stayed with it.

Mr. GOLDWATER Once Khrushchev decided to have stayed with it.

Mr. GOLDWATER Once Khrushchev decided to make approperations a factor in international diplomisely the United States had no choice but to react in kind. Once Khrushchev decided to assume that his real purpose in creating the indicent was diplomated in a line of the complete of the complet

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s had been to the fire who as a see the second

ute strategy to prevent that defeat, or, if it could not be prevented, to throw sand in the world's eyes so that the defeat would not be recognized or appreciated. Thanks to the steady nerves of our Government at the critical moment, Khrushchev falled in his efforts to pry loose concessions on Berlin.

But Khrushchev's alternate objecthat of diverting attention from the fact his bluff was called-is today close to realization. For far from cele brating our victory, we are cringing be fore the criticism and are haunted by the doubts of those spiritless creature our midst who ask, plaintively, whether we should have dared to win. Instant of taking to heart the lesson of the p fow weeks and proclaiming it world, we are ourselves—trembline to fore it. We cannot quite accept. w, the moral of the recent order ist firmness pays off.

Is it not time to say that the summi has come and gone, and that there is no shooting, nor any danger of it, and the

I do not mean to suggest that victo will always come so easily for the W that we can always avoid shooting. when the happy event occurs, and vouchsafed such a triumph, let us, heaven's sake, recognize what has h pened. Let us not fall under the doll of our American Hamlets. Let 30 100 rollapse of shock for having made a r

I have steadily opposed summir in ings on the grounds that the day

was not going to be given to him—that the United Bistes had decided to call his bluit. parties may be precisely the Striction of the strict of the

Sometimes from unexpected guarters wa are handed a benefit. Hence we often say that "it is an ill wind that blow no good." Mikita Effrushchev may be at trised to learn the true consequences of his reckless action in Paris recent, as he is ne seed the summit conference and publicly irsulted, the President of the United States

SHRUBHA 18

We are, indeed, indet ed to the boriet Pre-mier for the following consenuences: 1. The creditious, naive attrituder adopted by various groups among us in their advocacy of summit conferences were revenird as home. of summit conferences were revoked a surger, leadly impractical. No longer was resident to the argument that these resident are represented the historie ways of liaborate surger of the United Nations as disaborate to the man to estile the disputes which the third of the world with nuclear west.

The May to get peace is by making concession after concention to the enemy wave been proved illogical, misgrided, are without permasive influence.

28. The leaders of thought with have larged that America maintain its strong defenses and place its reliance on the naminismance of deterrent strength have been vindicated and will now have an increasing influence with American public opinion

american public opinion

as it has sought to divide the Western alliest

weaken NATO, and cruss a crumbing for morale in the West, have been a local thwarted. The Western alliance Lodayshat resoubled strength-15-has in Linkingthe eightness of its cause and in its military

power to deter war.

power to deter war.

The world has at last letter ind many in the principle of Tacts in the state of Boviet appropriate. The opportunity in this indicate in the state of Boviet appropriate in the state of Boviet appropriate in the state of Boviet appropriate indicates of the state o led not been detaited and ended by Mr.

incubohay when the .-- was to know the knowledge of . what ... what ... what ... what ... what ... when the ... what ... when ... de dete repair de ber T 4: 12: 14:

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opinion on this contingency even though everyone knows the West would not strike the first blow. The world now has had brought forcibly to its attention the vital necessity of preventing or intercepting "surprise attack." The House of Representatives, through one of its appropriation committees, has given formal sanction to such a policy.

10. The outery of the Soviet Government about "aggression" and "spying must inevitably cause the world to ask when the Soviets will withdraw their agents from Cubs and other Latin-American sountries,

Cubs and other Laun-American sountries, as well as from Europe, Asia and Africa, and really cease their "aggression."

11. Last but not least, the Soviet chief tain has asserted a right to tell the American people the kind of administration has wants to see elected in this opunity in Royman. vanus to see sected in this country in nov vember. Let's grant him that privilege on the condition that the elections be held in the Soviet Union and that our radio mesages no longer be jammed as we exercise a similar right to tell the floriet people whom

similar right to tell the Soviet people whom they shall choose as their rulen.

Yes, we pan say, "Thanks, Mr. Khrushchev" for having opened not only our eyes but the eyes of free peoples everywhere to the simple fact that there can be no safety for any country as long as an arbitrary and tocratic regime, suith the power to make sudden war, rules in Moscow.

Mr. KRATING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GOLDWATER. I am happy to yield.

Mr. KEATING, Unfortunately I was absent from the Schate during the carly part of the remarks of the distinguished Senstor from Arizons [Mr. Gozawarza] and heard only a part of what he said. Certainly, as he pointed out, the only was to deal with the men in the Krandin table a policy of Brinness and franch. In this regard, a not mean for the complete accord with the complete accordance to the complete accordance accor

Understand
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President Bleen
(sect I share he seems that Person
Senator from Arrians that Person
Elsenhower's processor be he Berkell
can or Democrating also recognize
this fact; and a un quite certain in the will. Woe betide us if he does not

Certainly the issue of who best can deal with this problem and who best can seal with the men in the Kremin Khrushchev or his successor is bound to be uppermost in the minds of the American people as they approach the forthcoming

election

The Sold and the sold and the forthcoming election and the sold and the s

same subject. While he and I are occasionally—but only rarely, I might sayin disagreement, there is no issue on which we are more in agreement than the matter of the defense of the United

My remarks today were addressed not only to the necessity of American leaders recognising this fact, which I had lieve they do—and I agree with the secator from New York when he says that regardless of who the next President hisy be, he will lead from strength I concerned in these remarks today about the efforts being made by some people in this country not purposely to in lead the American people into thinking that we can deal with these tyrants we would call them hoodiums in this country by being nice to them, in the belief that they will freat us as they would want us to treat them. would want us to treat them. At the recent summit meeting—eyen though I do not agree with the idea of summit meeting—the heads of the American Government and all the agencies connected with that incident displayed at mirable course, and their performance made me a little prouder of being an American.

SECRETARY SEATON APPROVES PADRE ISLAND SEASHORE AREA

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. Product although Interior Secretary Fred Se and the administration beverunged Congress to pass an omnibus hill a Secretary Shares

to go shead with Padre Island legislation before adjournment.

This is based upon the fact that on this island of over 100 miles of wild undeveloped land, without a single structure on it for more than a hundred miles, it would be cheaper to buy the hand now than later, when it has been dereloped.

Recently the distinguished and able

Secretary Seaton reported that his desperiment has no objection to enserment of my S. 4, provided that it is some acade comform with that portion of the line terior Department's commibus propos perisining to Padre Island. As I previcould informed the Senate and the Interior Committee I am grad to so ascenif S. 4 and will shortly submit the aspecific bill and request its early contideration the pommittee and the Christee

In his report, Secretary Sector paints

higher estimated cost of segments the land for Padre latest Mattenal Start at 14 rel ton The Secretary estimates that the expendijures for land acquisition, develop-

and management of Padre Management will amount to: first page 112167 000 second year \$210,000; mire year \$29,000; fourth year \$1,000,000; said

of to have printed at the point in the PARAPAIN

Approved For Release 2002/10/30: CIA-RDP80B01676R000900030019-2

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE DIRECTOR

Attached is a suggested letter to Senator Goldwater whose complimentary remarks concerning the Agency's participation in the U-2 program are also attached.

S/ John S. Warner
JOHN S. WARNER

JOHN S. WARNER Legislative Counsel

2 JUN 1960

(DATE)

FORM NO. 101 REPLACES FORM 10-101 1 AUG 54 OF WHICH MAY BE USED.

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE DIRECTOR

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JOHN'S. WARNER Legislative Counsel

2 June 1960
(DATE)

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Also attached is the colloquy between Senators Goldwater and Long (La.) on the floor of the Senate yesterday.
FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER
FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO. DATE
Legislative Counsel, 1 June 60

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